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## **Introduction**

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# Nominal Determination

Typology, context constraints,  
and historical emergence

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## Preface

The papers in this volume represent a selection from the talks given at the workshop "Evolution and functions of nominal determination" at the XXVII annual meeting of the German Association for Linguistics (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft, DGfS) held under the direction of Elisabeth Stark, Freie Universität Berlin, and Elisabeth Leiss, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, in February 2005 at Cologne, Germany. The workshop was dedicated to a reopening of the discussion on fundamental linguistic categories and operations and their importance in any approach to language change, especially in the systems of nominal determination. The following papers (among others) were presented at the conference: Werner Abraham/Vienna, Dagmar Bittner/Berlin, Agnes Jäger/Jena, Tanja Kupisch/University of Calgary & Christian Koops/Rice University, Laurel Stvan/UT Arlington. These were supplemented by the following solicited papers also with a strong cline toward the problem of nominal determination in a typological and diachronic perspective: Anna Bartra-Kaufmann/Barcelona, Brigitte Bauer/Austin, Elisabeth Leiss/Munich, Terje Lohndal/Oslo, Fuyo Osawa/Tokyo, Elisabeth Stark/Berlin, and Johanna Wood/Aarhus.

This volume owes a lot to the scrupulous administrative help of Barbara Fassnacht, FU Berlin.

## Introduction

### 1. Overview

The rich and inspiring literature on nominal determination of the last decades testifies to the considerable interest in questions related to determination (see, e.g. Hawkins 1978; van der Auwera 1980; Lyons 1999; to name but a few). Heim (1988) and Kamp & Reyle (1993), among others, discuss different aspects of the semantic category of definiteness, mainly in a textual perspective. Work related to the names of Greenberg (1978), Seiler (1978) or, more recently, Rijkhoff (2002) and Coene & D'hulst (eds; 2003a and 2003b) represent well-known, successful insights into the diachronic and synchronic typology of nouns and nominals. Contributions by logical semanticists such as Longobardi (1994, 1996, 2005), Chierchia (1998), and Zamparelli (2000) combine comparative linguistics with theoretical models, especially in the area of generative linguistics. The evolution of determiner systems in single language families has been extensively discussed, for example, in the work by Selig (1992) and Vincent (1997) for definite and by Stark (2005, 2006) for indefinite determiners in Romance, and by Abraham (1997) and Leiss (2000) for German and the Germanic languages.

### 2. The notion of determination and definiteness

One first major point in all this work indicated above is that it has led to many competing conceptions of *nominal determination* and *definiteness/indefiniteness/bare nominals*. Notice, however, that definitions tend to overgeneralize. This can lead directly to erroneously mapping properties and indispensable characteristics of modern determination systems onto older language stages – i.e., onto languages which often do not possess overt determiners (and DET-systems) or are just on their way toward developing therefore. It is therefore methodologically indispensable to distinguish between functional categories like 'determination' or '(in-)definiteness' and their different forms (of overt expressions) in different languages and diachronic language states. Especially when it comes to research into the

functions of 'nominal determination', a historical approach to grammatical categories is crucial for any fundamental understanding of the former and the actual structural make-up in individual languages.

"Determination of reference" can be seen as the explicit marking of nominals in order to provide information about the way the nominal predicate is to be mapped onto different sorts of (choices of sets of as well as text) referents (in the sense of Seiler's (1978) notion of 'perception of reality'). However, determination in this sense is *not* merely the overt indication of (in-)definiteness. This shows most convincingly in historically early stages. When demonstratives or numerals emerge as nominal determiners, they do so because of their very meaning as indexicals (demonstratives) or quantifiers. Their prime task is not to indicate 'givenness' or 'known to the addressee', but, much rather, conceptual categories and features such as 'shape', 'singularity', and 'perceptibility', among a few other characteristics. Let us give an example. Appreciating actual linguistic data uncovered from ancient text documents by means of formal semantic models of nominal determination, the functional reduction of Modern German articles to the 'anaphoric-cataphoric opposition' is in no way sufficient. Other characteristics such as thematic or definite/specific status in definite and indefinite contexts may come into play as well or exclusively. Yet, what we find about the meaning of determiners of (in-)definiteness in modern text books is often vague or even ambiguous (see Lyons 1999), something that leaves the reader with two incompatible concepts: For example, the quantificational ('inclusive' vs. 'exclusive', à la Hawkins 1978) or the (con)textual 'given' vs. 'new' (à la Kamp & Reyle 1993). We stress the point that the function marked by nominal determiners in one language may be marked by word order or paradigmatic case shift (as between accusative and genitive; see Abraham 1997; Leiss 2000) in another. This leaves undecided the problem of a clear-cut definition of '(in-)definiteness' – unless one gives up and defines definiteness as a grammatical property only within one individual language – in other words, as the nothing-but-overt projection of DP as opted for by Lyons (1999). This is a choice that we do not advocate.

### 3. The question of DP

Many researchers assume that *nominal determination* as an overtly marked functional category D is not universal (recall, e.g. the work by Gil 1987; Vincent 1997 and Chierchia 1998) – whereas, no doubt, the semantic function of determination is universal. Marking determination makes use of different syntactic and morphological devices, a fact which complicates the language-independent description and definition and provides a challenge for modelling cross-linguistic variation. The positions among the contributors to this volume are divided: Bartra sides

with Boucher (2005), Dobrovie-Sorin (2001: 208), Delfitto & Schroten (1991), among others, in claiming that in languages without overt determiners, no functional projection D has to be established in order to derive the referential status of nominals. In these languages, the referential or definite value of the noun must be checked against other existing functional projections. However, there is a weighty partisanship in favor of the claim that even in the absence of overt (definite) articles, nominal reference as well as some properties of argument noun phrases can be only accounted for by positing a D projection. Progovac (1998) and Pereltsvaig (2006) are such theoretical protagonists, even for languages without overt determiners. Lohndal (in the present volume) decidedly opts for this position. Bartra-Kaufmann (this volume) quotes Pereltsvaig (2006) taking the position that "complete" noun phrases or DPs contrast with *small nominal*. Assuming that there is no evidence or cue in those languages for acquiring D, it has yet to be universally present. The main question, then, is the following: Do we have to assume the existence of a basic D(P)-structure across all languages and language states even if and when, at some specific historical stage or across, no D-word is showing overtly? A good case in point is Modern Japanese (see below Section 3.2), another one is Classical Latin. This is then the main difficulty aligned with this question: Are there languages which never have shown N-to-D raising? Recall the claim above that this lack may be functionally compensated in other grammatical modules. In other words: Is D universal, either overtly or covertly? The contributions in this volume are far from definitely answering, or even touching explicitly upon, this issue. Although it is taken up by Leiss, Osawa, and, somewhat lightly, by Bauer, it comes under different perspectives and with varying results.

In discussing Old English without D-representatives and its path to Modern English with an explicit definite article, then, we would have to posit one of the following two hypotheses:

- "Out of nothing-to-D Hypothesis": For example, a fundamental restructuring of Modern English has taken place, while under the
- "Covert-to-overt-D Hypothesis": A silent DP might be invoked for a language introducing lexical determiners in D after changing the triggering grammatical and semantic features and thus satisfying singular reference and anaphoric, transclausal binding in due course. Hitherto undetected patterns of definiteness marking (covert DPs either in the linguistic sense or in the metalinguistic sense) are being replaced by an article system where D is overt or less covert.

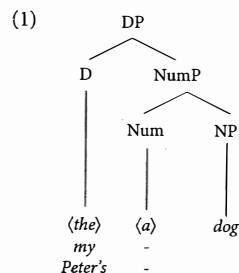
Expectably, there are predecessors to this distinction. As Bauer notes in her contribution (this volume) it was Benveniste (1974: 126–127) who distinguished two types of change: A grammatical category may be preserved, with possibly accompanying formal replacement (of case endings by prepositions). Or there may be changes

that lead to the loss of a grammatical category (e.g., the shift from a three-gender to a two-gender system in Indo-European); and (b) changes that lead to the creation of a new grammatical category, Benveniste's illustration being the definite article. Benveniste, thus, at least also opts for the first hypothesis above. Hermann Paul (1909/1975: 35–36), by contrast, sees no logical possibility for the first hypothesis, the *Out of nothing-to-something Hypothesis*.<sup>1</sup>

It can be shown that only under very specific distributional conditions in particular languages do we say that there is no such covert DP – thus, that there is no final overt raising to D or SpecDP.

### 3.1 Syntactic structure

Eversince Bloomfield (1933/65: 205), Abney (1987), and Longobardi (1994, 2005), among others, we take clausal argument nominals to be a projection of a D-head or a Num-head or an N-head. Thus, the structure of nominals is this (somewhat simplified).



1. According to Paul (1975: 35f.), only the *Covert-to-overt-something Hypothesis* appears to be acceptable: "Wenn unsere Betrachtungsweise richtig durchgeführt wird, so müssen die allgemeinen Ergebnisse derselben auf alle Sprachen und auf alle Entwicklungsstufen derselben anwendbar sein, auch auf die Anfänge der Sprache überhaupt. Die Frage nach dem Ursprunge der Sprache kann nur auf der Grundlage der Prinzipienlehre beantwortet werden. Andere Hilfsmittel zur Beantwortung gibt es nicht. Wir können nicht auf grund der Überlieferung eine historische Schilderung von den Anfängen der Sprache entwerfen. Die Frage, die sich beantworten lässt, ist überhaupt nur: wie war die Entstehung der Sprache möglich. Diese Frage ist befriedigend gelöst, wenn es uns gelingt, die Entstehung der Sprache lediglich aus der Wirksamkeit derjenigen Faktoren abzuleiten, die wir auch jetzt noch bei der Weiterentwicklung der Sprache immerfort wirksam sehen. Übrigens lässt sich ein Gegensatz zwischen anfänglicher Schöpfung der Sprache und blosser Weiterentwicklung gar nicht durchführen. Sobald einmal die ersten Ansätze gemacht sind, ist Sprache vorhanden und Weiterentwicklung. Es existieren nur graduelle Unterschiede zwischen den ersten Anfängen der Sprache und den späteren Epochen."

According to Longobardi (1994: 628; 2005: 24, 27), the difference between NP and DP is that NPs – determinerless, bare nominals – are inherently predicative and thus cannot occur in referential argument positions. Bare NPs are not referential, but classifying – in other words, they are close to adjectivals, i.e. property denotations. Referential nominals denote particular entities in the universe of discourse. Indefinitely determined nominals may, but need not, be classifying.

Only DP can occur in argument positions, which need to refer to theta characteristics which in turn are contingent upon the semantics of the predicating verb. The role of picking out a particular referent is taken care of by a functional D. The role of a functional D is to change predicative nominals, bare NPs, into arguments, DPs, by identifying the referentiality of a nominal. This selection operation is best explained by the theory of theta-binding proposed by Higginbotham (1985).

However, the function of identifying the referentiality of a nominal is not always taken care of by an overt D. It has been proposed (Abraham 1997; Leiss 2000; see also Leiss, this volume) that in the absence of an overt D-paradigm, morphological case on the head nouns can determine indirectly the referentiality of a nominal. In Old English, without overt D, morphological case performed the same task as overt D. Assuming the difference between NP and DP and assuming the role of a functional D, it can be argued (as Osawa does, this volume) that earlier D-less NPs changed into DPs via the emergence of a D-paradigm for nominals in the history of the specific language. Another position adopted for languages with indirect referencing means is that morphological case alternates contingent upon the choice of aspect determined definiteness versus indefiniteness (Abraham 1997; Leiss 2000; see Leiss, this volume). In other words, while there was no overt D-category present in such language states (Old English, Old High German, Gothic, Latin as opposed to their modern Germanic developments and modern Romance), yet referentiality was ascertained through the interaction of means other than direct lexical D-fillers.

### 3.2 Typology

In languages like Chinese or Japanese, NPs, not DPs, are inherently argumental and can thus occur freely in the argument positions without determiners, while they are predicates in other languages (as the Romance languages) and cannot occur in argument positions without determiners, as argued by Longobardi (1994). By contrast, in the Germanic languages nominals are allowed to have these double natures. Thus, as has been argued by Chierchia (1998), there are parameterized differences in the nature of nouns sketched succinctly in Table 1 below.

Table 1. The nominal mapping parameter (Chierchia 1998: 400)

Languages	Predicative mapping	Argumentative mapping	Mass reference	Count reference	Article	Bare arguments
Japanese, Chinese	–	+	+	–	–	
Slavic	+	+	+	+	–	+
Germanic	+	+	+	+	+	+
Italian	+	–	+	+	+	+
French	+	–	+	+	+	–

Notice that the feature ‘predicative mapping’ (vs. ‘argumentative mapping’) accounts for the fact that Japanese predicates come in nominalized form.

All this could lead to the hypothesis that Japanese has no D-projection at all. There are in fact several hints in the literature (cf. Gil 1987) at exactly this interpretation for Japanese nominal expressions. But we believe that such a decision is based on imprecise and, therefore, inadvertent distributional ground. See 3.2.1 below.

### 3.2.1 Pronouns

Japanese has no personal pronouns – i.e., Japanese has no means to grammatically distinguish binding. This refers both to clausal binding by means of something that is ‘reflexive/reciprocal’ and extra-clausal binding in terms of personal pronouns. And the status of any findings to this effect in broader context is that, if Japanese does not know grammatical means of binding, then it will be plausible not to assume a covert DP in the first place. Now see Table 2 below, which is to show that Japanese pronouns are not DPs, but NPs. What are called pronouns according to a Euro-ethnic understanding are nothing but nouns. In other words, the distributional characteristics of pseudo-pronouns such as *watashi* ‘I’, *anata* ‘you’, *kare* ‘he’ etc. behave like full nominals.

Table 2. Pro-DP vs. Pro-NP (from Tanaka 2006: 9)

English	Japanese
<i>a little boy</i>	<i>chiisana otokonoko</i> little boy
<i>*a little he</i>	<i>chiisana kare</i> little he
<i>the eloquent man</i>	<i>hanashijouzuna otoko</i> eloquent man
<i>*the eloquent you</i>	<i>hanashijouzuna anata</i> eloquent you
<i>Kai’s book</i>	<i>Kai-no hon</i> Kai-GEN book
<i>*Kai’s that</i>	<i>Kai-no sore</i> Kai-GEN that

The overall conclusion is that there is no such closed paradigm as a third person of the pronominal in Japanese. Likewise, the 2nd person, the addressee form, has many expressions all depending on the way how well you know the addressee or how polite you feel you have to be: *anata* ‘that side’ (neutral, but creating distance), *anta* (somewhat loose, not unfriendly and yet lightly condescending), *kimi* (condescending or friendly), *omae* (pejorative), *kisama* (obsolete and pejorative) etc. (Tanaka 2006: 8).

Given the assumption that the semantic contribution of D is ‘singularity’ rather than ‘anaphoricity’ (cf. Heim & Kratzer 1998: 81), a language that has no (anaphoric) personal pronouns may still possess a covert DP-structure in nominals. This assumption can also be shown to hold diachronically: According to Leiss (2000: 37ff.), definiteness (in its wide, all-encompassing sense) is signaled in Old Icelandic by clause-inceptive position, while in all other linear positions definiteness marking occurs according to grammatical patterns. In other words, the left-edge position in the clause, reserved for unmarked thematic material by default, is the only position where the explicit definiteness marker does not occur. A language following this strategy exbraciates the non-anaphoric function of the definite article and restricts its appearance to the uniqueness/singulative function – just like Japanese. We claim that the anaphoric function is implied by the singulative/uniqueness function in the first place – which is what the historical data from Old Icelandic attest to in the first place. Essentially, the link that we have drawn has no parallel in the literature, to the best of our insight. Yet, it appears plausible, if not logical, to derive the relation in (2) below. Informally, this relation reads as follows (following essentially Heim & Kratzer 1998: 81).

- (2) The uniqueness quantifier has a definiteness scope within the presupposition of the article which is restricted with respect to the contextually restricted set of discourse referents. This means that the meaning of the definite article falls into two components: the denotation of singularity and its presupposition of anaphoricity – i.e., singularity as a choice from a given unique referential world or a set of worlds.

According to (2), the definite article is a conglomerate of at least two components one of which is the core and the other the presupposition of this core.

Clearly, the meaning of the definite article in English and German refers exclusively to the singularity, or uniqueness, with respect to the set choice. It simply says that the function of *the*, i.e.  $[[the]]$ , is that term of the discourse set which selects one and only one from this set. The anaphoric relation is established through the choice from D and the set restriction  $\langle e, t \rangle$  – i.e.,  $\lambda f: f \in D_{\langle e, t \rangle}$  (see Heim & Kratzer 1998: 75). For the syntactic account and its observational motivation to the extent that bare plurality and classifiers are in one single structural node, see 3.4. below.



### 3.2.2 Mass nouns: a caveat

Languages with transnumeral nominals do not distinguish articles, nor do they possess personal pronouns, like Japanese. Transnumeral nominals are close, but not identical, to mass nouns. They are quantifiable, but never without classifiers and linkers, which denote sortal categories appropriate to the sort of nominal to be quantified over. Thus, nominal quantification in Japanese runs different from languages such as English and German on a number of criteria. Gil (1987: 235f.) claims therefore two types of languages: those with configurational NPs distinguishing between count and mass nouns, and those with non-configurational NPs treating all nouns as mass. Krifka (1989) draws the same typological conclusion. The specific question is whether the categorial identification as mass is felicitous or whether transnumerality is a different referencing property. Syntactically, it can be shown that Japanese 'classifiers' behave no more as classifiers in the traditional sense of the transnumeral language type, but like lexical attributes<sup>2</sup> (Chan Hok-Shing 1999; Kurita 2006) rather than functional morphemes, and that Japanese bare nouns are very likely to be transnumeral nominal constituents without any 'mass interpretation'.

Notice that Chierchia's (1998: 400) distinction of mass-count typologies across languages (see Table 1 above) does not answer the questions that we have asked at the outset. The critical property of quantifications of transnumeral nominal constituents is the fact that, from the point of view of Indo-European, the quantified nominals – "books", "students" – are neither sets of distributive entities nor collective subsets, but subsets of abstract nominal notions ('bookhood', 'studenthood', 'waterhood'). Thus, the distinction between count nouniness and mass nouniness is blurred under the transnumeral referential strategy. In this sense, Chierchia's typological distinctive feature opposition "predicativity" vs. "argumentativity", as in Table 1 above, albeit necessary and plausible, is hardly sufficient and cannot lead to the conclusion that Japanese would be a language without DP.

### 3.3 Diachrony

Received wisdom tells us that demonstratives are the ancestors of definite articles in the languages of the world. However, definite articles and demonstratives are not alike – thus, not to be listed under one identical category, D in DP. Following Jakobson (1957), we take demonstratives to be *simple shifters*. By contrast, definite articles are *complex shifters*. The opposition between demonstratives and definite

articles spells out as follows: The deictic force of simple shifters such as demonstratives depends exclusively on the speaker's viewpoint (Bühler's *Origo*). Non-shifters such as *the 18th of May* imply no reference to the speaker. By contrast, shifters such as *yesterday* or the demonstrative *this* have relative reference since they are dependent on the *Origo*/location/viewpoint of the speaker. They are called *simple shifters*. Definite articles are yet more complex in as much as they, quite plausibly, involve speaker as well as hearer and, thus, are more complex shifters. Demonstratives cannot replace definite articles, which have the functional status of complex, or double, shifters. The definite article creates a viewpoint shared between speaker and hearer. In other words, definite articles refer to information which is known information for both hearer and speaker, whereas demonstrative pronouns refer to information which is known to the speaker, but unknown to the hearer. Compare Abraham's contribution in terms of Centering Theory (Abraham, this volume a): Definite articles (as well as personal pronouns) have an anaphoric component whose binding force reaches far beyond the antecedent (left) clause edge binding the erstwhile discourse thema (usually at the far left edge of the antecedent clause). By contrast, the binding force exercised by demonstrative pronouns is more local and deictic in the sense of 'pointing-at' in that it binds the closest discourse rhema (usually close to the end of the antecedent clause).

The data from Old Icelandic and Gothic (cf. Leiss 2000 as well as Leiss, this volume) attest that the overt rise of the definite article starts in the rhema – for good reason. In order to answer the question why the demonstrative pronoun is the privileged source of overtly signaled definiteness we have to unfold the functional affinity between the demonstrative pronoun, the rhema, and definiteness. Quite plausibly, there is a strong binding affinity between the demonstrative pronoun, DemPro, and the *preceding* rhema (as has been shown by Abraham, this vol. a). This affinity aligns well with the fact that the rise of the definite article in Old Icelandic started out in the rhema the reason being that a functionally definite rhema is expected to be marked by a definite article in order to block the indefinite reading presupposed by rhematic objects.

What all of this amounts to is the conclusion that categories like D (a complex shifter as argued above) essentially create shared viewpoints for both speaker and hearer – to be sure, if and only if, as we assume, D hosts definite articles, but not demonstratives (an assumption which is shared by many: cf. Szabolcsi 1994; Giusti 1997; Ritter 1995; Chan 1999, to name but a few). On the other hand, the viewpoint created by complex shifters such as the definite article (or past tense as opposed to present tense) is the anchoring point for simple shifters such as demonstrative pronouns and adverbials of time, place, and manner in the sense that simple shifters, or simple-layered indexicals, receive their value by the very opposition to the doubly layered complex shifters. Thus, assuming languages without

2. No doubt, one and the same element may turn out as either classifier OR as attribute. See Yukari (2006).

a D-structure is at the risk of losing the quality of remote anchoring of local and temporal reference. One of the reasons cited for not assuming D in a language is that such languages have no personal pronouns with anaphoric binding force, in the first place, AND do not use a particular category for singling out individual referents.

The bottom line of all that is that from the two hypotheses regarding the universal status of DP in any reference structure only the “Covert-to-overt-D Hypothesis” holds. We cannot assume that DP emerges out of nothing, diachronically (or ontologically) speaking. Notice, however, that feature checking mechanisms (usually taken to be responsible for formal accounts) will have to formalize different feature-source and feature-goal sites to satisfy D-derivations on the basis of aspect and case alternatives (such as in Russian) or linear topicality (as for Old Icelandic and Russian; see Leiss 2000). But this is a totally different matter – one that any formal theory working with templates avoids in the first place.

#### 4. The ontological acquisition of DP vs. NP

The decision between our two hypotheses towards the universality of D will no doubt be contingent also on the question what the ontological acquisition of the Determiner Phrase (DP) is like (see Bittner, in the present volume). To this end, we ask the following two questions: (a) What is the development of the acquisition of the DP like (in some specific language)? (b) How are predictions deriving from current theoretical analyses of the DP to be evaluated in the light of empirical findings on child development? Sub-questions may be the following: (c) When do we have evidence for the acquisition of the functional layers of the nominal domain? (d) Are the properties attributed to the DP acquired simultaneously or incrementally? (e) What is the relationship between the acquisition of syntax and morphology of the DP? (f) When are language specific properties of DP such as the use of multiple definite articles (in specific languages such as the Scandinavian ones or in Modern Greek) acquired? (g) When do complex DPs involving the possessive construction, Determiner Spreading, and appositive constructions emerge in child Greek? And (h) Is the core system of the nominal domain acquired simultaneously with the Left Periphery of the DP?

Let us take Modern Greek to clarify these issues. Marinis (2003: 140, 166, 193; see (3)–(5) below) investigates the acquisition of simple DPs consisting of articles and nouns as well as the acquisition of complex DPs, in order to answer the above questions. Concerning the simple DPs, the author investigates the acquisition of indefinite (*ena vivlio* ‘a/one book’) and definite articles (*to vivlio* ‘the book’); as far as the complex DPs are concerned, he investigates the acquisition

of the possessive construction (examples 3a, b), Determiner Spreading (examples 4a, b), and appositive constructions involving kinship terms and proper names (examples 5a, b).

- (3) a. Pira to vivlio tu Niku.  
took the-ACC the-GEN Niku-GEN  
‘I took Nikos’ book’.
- b. Pira tu Nikou to vivlio.  
took the-GEN Niku-GEN the-ACC book-ACC  
‘I took Niko’s book’.
- (4) a. to meghalo to petrino to spiti  
the big the stone-made the house
- b. to meghalo to spiti to petrino  
the big the house the stone-made
- (5) a. O piitis Solomos ezise sti Zakintho.  
the-NOM poet-NOM Solomos-NOM lived in-the Zakinthos  
‘The poet Solomos lived in Zakinthos’.
- b. I nea siskevasia ton makaronion Melissa  
the new package the-GEN spaghetti-GEN Melissa-UN  
‘the new package of the spaghetti Melissa’

To account for these empirical findings, the analysis of the DP may involve three functional layers:

- the DP layer that hosts the definiteness feature;
- the FP layer that hosts the case feature;
- and the Num(b)P layer that hosts the number feature.

The syntax-semantics mapping focuses on Chierchia’s (1998) *Nominal Mapping Parameter*. According to this model, nouns in Modern Greek are of the Romance Type, i.e., they are of the predicative type. In order to be used in argument positions, a DP layer must be projected. Modern Greek allows bare nouns in argument positions, but in restricted environments. Bare arguments have the status of DPs with a null  $D^0$  (see specifically Guérin 2006 and, more generally, Vogeleer & Tas-mowski (eds) 2006 as well as Section 3.4 above). The paradigms of definite articles and nouns are illustrated along with the degree of syncretism and the unmarked versus marked forms of each paradigm.

Results of the investigation of the acquisition of the functional layers, namely DP, FP and NumP, the syntax-semantics mapping, and morphological marking yield that the head of the DP layer hosts the indefinite article, and the head of the FP layer hosts the definite article and the case feature. Evidence for the acquisition of NumP can be provided by the use of number marking. Definite articles

emerge earlier than indefinite articles, and children use bare nouns a lot, which are grammatical with a non-specific interpretation, but ungrammatical with a specific one. This indicates that definite articles emerge earlier than indefinite ones in the speech of children acquiring Modern Greek. Marinis (2003) examines the status of definite articles as impostors, i.e., in a lexically based fashion, using the data of one child and arguing that children use determiners as impostors and not as target-like definite articles. This process lasts during Stage I, i.e., prior to the age of 2;0, from 1;8 to 1;11. Evidence for a productive use of definite articles is provided by the use of definite articles with several noun types after that period.

Marinis' investigation furthermore shows that the data under discussion support the predictions deriving from Chierchia's *Nominal Mapping Parameter*. The youngest child does not use any definite articles at all. All five children pass through a stage in which they omit definite articles. The fact that they are using definite articles (and the fact that they omit them) provides evidence that nouns have the [-arg, +pred] specification. Another piece of evidence that in Modern Greek nouns have the specification [-arg, +pred] is the early use of definite articles with proper names and kinship terms.

As regards the acquisition of morphological marking, case and number marking are acquired simultaneously. Marinis (2003) analyses the data of one child, showing that this child has knowledge of plural marking on nouns from Stage II on. As far as case marking on nouns is concerned, the analysis includes only nouns in contexts requiring marked forms and more specifically masculine and feminine nouns, since there were no marked contexts for neuter nouns in the data of the child. The results of the analysis prove that nominative case is acquired prior to genitive in both definite articles and nouns and in nouns with both a two-way and a three-way distinction. This supports the idea that this acquisition pattern does not reflect a gap in the morphological paradigm, but is due to syntactic reasons. These facts lend support to the *Weak Continuity Hypothesis* and to a minimalist view of the language faculty. At Stage II, finally, definite articles emerge and the target-like word order is observed. DP is acquired gradually.

Notice that, according to Clahsen, Eisenbeiss & Vainikka (1994), Clahsen, Eisenbeiss & Penke (1996), and Eisenbeiss (2000) for the acquisition of the German DP within the *Weak Continuity Hypothesis* and the *Lexical Learning Approach*, it is predicted that early child grammar may generate underspecified functional projections. The *Lexical Learning Approach* predicts that:

- early determiners may be impostors, and the U-shaped developmental curve should signal the change from the impostor status of determiners to the target-like status of determiners;

- if the DP is underspecified early determiners may not show case marking, given that  $D^0$  is the locus of nominal case features;
- lexical entries for the different determiners hosted in  $D^0$  may be acquired incrementally.

This is in line with the theoretical assumptions underlying the structural presentations in (1) above.

## 5. Issues in the contributions to this volume: An overview

The following theoretical and empirical points on the DP-issue have been raised and brought up for further clarification in the present book publication:

- **Article category and its particular referential and anaphoric properties:** Quite obviously, grammatical determiners of various sorts are differently distributed in individual languages. Abraham ("Discourse binding: DP and pronouns in German, Dutch, and English") lists and investigates briefly a few related and non-related languages to survey the lexical lexemes relating to Determiner (DemPro) status vs. Article status and pronominal anaphor (PersPro). The author points out, first, to which extent such determiners co-define anaphors in contexts reaching beyond the single clause. Second, he investigates typologically what the determiner-determined features are where they are in interaction with aspect and morphological case. Third, and interlinking the synchronic and the diachronic chapters, since spoken-only codes use anaphoric determiners in ways strikingly different from their written(-only) standard varieties, processing differences will be made responsible for such a variation.

Not quite in line with Abraham on the status of DP, Bartra takes the existence of Bare Noun Phrases acting as subjects or displaced complements as evidence for the licensing properties of Functional Categories other than Determiner Phrase in earlier stages of Romance Languages such as Spanish and Catalan. The fact that in Spanish and Catalan subjects in passive sentences can be licensed inside the Verb Phrase also facilitates the use of BNPs in this context. Bartra takes Old Spanish and Old Catalan Bare Noun Phrases, mainly subjects of passive sentences and other BNPs moved from their basic position inside the VP, to show that in these grammars the grammar of the Determiner was still unstable and other nominal functional projections were able to license the NP, mainly noun markers such as Gender or nominalizing affixes and Number Phrase. She adopts a methodological minimalism in that she argues that from the inventory of Functional Categories in Universal Grammar, particular grammars activate only those for which there

is formal and morphological evidence. Needless to say that Noun Phrases show semantic differences according to the active Functional Categories they have.

- **Identification and adequate description of all functional nominal categories across languages:** A generally overlooked and highly polysemous English noun phrase form, the bare singular, is looked at by Stvan ("The functional range of bare singular count nouns in English"). The author takes this to be a null determiner with a singular count noun complement assuming a strict distinction between determination and (in)definiteness as well as between nominal determination and nominal classification. Occurring in all grammatical positions, this constituent shape is used in English for multiple functions. Examination of naturally occurring English data shows the conditions under which bare singulars are used as generics (meaning bare plurals), as components of a predicate conveying a stereotypical activity (with an indefinite meaning), and as markers of an identifiable referent (like nouns with definite articles, demonstratives, and possessive determiners).

- **Different stages of grammaticalization and different functional and semantic categories like *specificity* or *negation*:** Such aspects are discussed in the contributions by Kupisch & Koops ("The definite article in non-specific direct object noun phrases: Comparing French and Italian") for Modern French and Italian, and by Jäger ("No' changes: On the history of German indefinite determiners in the scope of negation") for the history of German. According to Kupisch & Koops, Italian allows the definite article to occur in non-specific noun phrases forming part of verb+object constructions like *mettersi la giacca* 'put on a jacket' or *comprare il pane* 'buy bread'. The corresponding constructions in French typically take the indefinite article, as in *se mettre un blouson* and *acheter du pain*, respectively. The authors interpret this phenomenon as indicative of the different degree of grammaticalization the definite article has attained in the two languages. Given that Italian makes much wider use of the definite article in these non-specific constructions they conclude that the Italian definite article is further grammaticalized than its French counterpart. This conclusion calls for a reconsideration of the widespread view that French has the most grammaticalized article system in all of Romance. Jäger's paper investigates the evolution of nominal determination of a specific kind, viz. indefinite determination in the scope of negation. The changes within the system of indefinite determination in the history of German with respect to four patterns are described on the basis of their distribution in a corpus of several Old and Middle High German texts.

- **Description and typological explanation of the interaction of nominal and verbal determination at the sentence level:** Compare the contributions by Abraham ("The discourse-functional crystallization of the historically original demonstrative")

and Leiss ("Covert patterns of definiteness/indefiniteness and aspectuality in Old Icelandic, Gothic, and Old High German") in the history of German. The findings of his synchronic discussion (see above) has a follow-up in Abraham's second contribution on the emergence of the definite article in the history of German from the determiner homonym and how various steps in their grammaticalization paths invite certain generalizations of diachronic change. Leiss claims that the growth of the definite article is due to changes in the aspectual system of a language. Definiteness and perfective aspect are shown to be just two instantiations of an identical grammatical function. So are indefiniteness and imperfective aspect (see for this idea Krifka 1989). The central claim is that the definiteness effects of verbal aspect upon its 'noun syntactical neighbourhood' suffice to create complex patterns of nominal determination. The complexity is created by combining aspect with a paradigmatic case system. One central claim with typological consequences is that paradigmatic case alternations are characteristic of aspect languages such as the Slavic languages. The same holds for older stages of the Germanic languages. There is converging evidence from linguistic typology that aspect languages tend to avoid article systems, and article languages tend to avoid aspect. The different stages of article development are analyzed in the light of Abraham's *Centering Theory*, where grammatical determiners of variant semantic and syntactic purport are distinguished in contexts reaching beyond the single clause. Lohndal argues that double definiteness developed during Old Norse as an instance of "downward" grammaticalization of the definite article. This entails the presence of a low definiteness head. He argues that this head developed alongside double definiteness. As to some movement puzzles in Old Norse and Middle Icelandic, it is held that the two languages require different analyses. The MI cases appear to be straightforward handled as an instance of  $\alpha P$  blocking  $nP$ , whereas this blocking presumably does not occur in Old Norse.

- **Emergence of DP within a perspective of ontogeny and phylogeny** as well as the correlation between DP, TP, and aspect in Old English and first language acquisition as by Osawa ("The emergence of DP from a perspective of ontogeny and phylogeny: correlation between DP, TP and aspect in Old English and first language acquisition") and Bittner ("Early functions of definite determiners and DPs in German first language acquisition") from the point of view of language-acquisition in German. Osawa aims at the English NP and its historical development into DP via the emergence from zero of a functional D-system due to a theta-binding mechanism. Furthermore, it is examined if there is a complementary distribution between DP/TP and aspect. Crucially, the correlation between DP/TP and aspect is observed in early child languages. This suggests that there might be a parallel between first language acquisition (ontogeny) and diachronic change (phylogeny). On the

other hand, Bittner discusses the functional load of definite DPs in early child German regarding sentence-internal and sentence-external relations. It is argued that DPs exhibit functional load on both levels from the onset of production. Contradicting recent assumptions, it is held that (i) case-related distinctions are acquired prior to gender distinction, and (ii) children establish a functional distinction between pronominal DPs (continued or directly accessible reference) and noun-including DPs (disrupted or especially emphasized reference). The results allow the hypotheses that the noun-including DP is a functionally motivated extension of the pronominal DP and that properties relating the DP to other elements of sentence/text are the first to be acquired. Lohndal argues in his purely historical discussion that the definite suffixed article in Modern Norwegian developed from a clitic in Old Norse. Such a change creates interesting theoretical questions as to how we can account for the difference between pre- and postposed articles in phrase structural terms, and how such a change manifests itself. This paper discusses exactly this question and argues that the change from clitic to affix can be viewed as grammaticalization "down the tree" from a high D head to a low n head. Furthermore, it argues that functional categories, like the definiteness category, are non-universal. That is, they are not part of Universal Grammar, but only arise when the child discovers them in the input. Bartra concludes that, may be in a very early stage, Gender Phrase or a nominalizing affix would suffice in some cases to license an internal subject.

- The relation between demonstratives and possessives emergent from Old English and developing to present-day English by Wood ("Demonstratives and possessives: From Old English to present-day English"). Three different nominal word orders in Old English through present-day English are investigated in order to determine whether English has an 'adjectival' possessive similar to Modern Italian. It is argued that the orders of the demonstrative-possessive-noun and the possessive-demonstrative-noun represent different syntactic constructions, with different paths of development, much in line with Abraham's findings.

- The definite and indefinite articles in Indo-European and the question whether its emergence results in what Bauer ("The definite article in Indo-European: Emergence of a new grammatical category?") calls a "new grammatical category". Based on the distinction between weak and strong (short/long) adjectives in Germanic and Slavic, as well as to a correlation between case use on direct objects and aspect conveying definiteness, she concludes that definiteness did exist in Indo-European before the rise of the definite article. However, with several of the Near-Eastern daughter languages (among them Persian) and the Slavic languages not possessing articles, the definite article is concluded to be a complex innovation in Indo-European. Furthermore, not all daughter languages underwent the change or, conversely, some did, whereas the majority did not (Bulgarian did obviously due

to L-contact in the *Balkan Sprachbund*, while the other Slavic languages did not). Moreover, the functions of the definite article may vary cross-linguistically within a subgroup, possibly reflecting different degrees of grammaticalization. In contrast to earlier historical stages of Germanic languages, the connection between aspect, object case, and definiteness has not been attested for Latin despite the fact that Latin presumably had aspect and Aktionsart. It is important to note from this perspective that the definite article in Latin/Romance is attested to emerge primarily in combination with (topicalized) subjects (a claim that is explicitly contested by Selig 1992 on solid empirical grounds).

The considerable variation in the emergence of nominal (in)definiteness in Indo-European as claimed by Bauer is in line with Stark's contribution on the variation in the field of nominal indefiniteness in Romance ("Gender, number, and indefinite articles – about the 'typological inconsistency' of Italian"). Stark focuses on the central role of gender and number distinctions in Latin. She suggests that the loss of gender and number distinctions in the Romance languages catalysed the grammaticalization of the indefinite article which initially had a partitive function. Her claim is based upon the observation of the functions of multiple gender in Latin. According to Stark, it was the demise of multiple gender distinctions (e.g., Late Latin *caseus* vs. *caseum* for "piece of cheese" vs. "cheesiness; of cheese") which led to the emergence of the indefinite article. Note, that for early Germanic a system of quantificational gender has been documented which no longer exists and has been displaced by gender based on sex distinctions. As gender, number, and definiteness are closely related grammatical categories, Stark's results have to be seen in the light of very similar earlier findings made for Germanic and a host of non-Indo European languages.

- As one additional important point of discussion the discussion of the Cologne workshop has shed light on questions of lack of, or seemingly redundant, nominal determination. Bare nouns in English are morpho-syntactically underspecified and therefore open to a manifold, yet not just any interpretation (cf. Stvan). By contrast, DPs in French and Italian with a surprisingly non-specific interpretation are apparently overspecified (cf. Kupisch & Koops). Although research for a finite list of indispensable functional categories inside nominals has not yielded a definite result shared by everyone, two decisive factors involved in the interpretation and grammatical evolution of nominals have been clearly identified:

- the close, local syntactic context as amply demonstrated by Jäger for indefinite determiners in the history of German; and
- the role of previous (backtracked) and ensuing (focused by forward-looking) context, as discussed by Abraham for the synchronic and diachronic account of definite determiners and pronouns in German.

It is claimed that this particular research for the fundamental interaction of determiners and bare nominals with other elements in the phrase, sentence, or text has been successfully dealt with. In particular, the interaction of nominal and verbal determination has been identified as crucial for the process of language change in the nominal structure as well as for the process of language acquisition and evolution.

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## Gender, number, and indefinite articles

### About the ‘typological inconsistency’ of Italian

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This paper discusses some typologically significant correlations in nominal determination systems found in the family of Romance languages, specifically French, Italian, and Spanish. It proposes to reinterpret the complex system of indefinite nominal determination in French and Italian, which both feature an indefinite article and a partitive article, as devices of nominal classification in a broad sense, marking the conceptually important distinction between a single, delimited referent and a non-delimited substance. It is argued that this classification system arose when nominal declension in Latin, which differentiated these two referentially highly relevant cognitive concepts via overt gender and number affixes, got partially or completely lost. In contrast to modern central Romance languages, like French, which require rather obligatory (indefinite) determination in almost every argument position and have developed indefinite articles coding countability on the level of noun phrase, modern peripheral Romance languages like Spanish allow bare arguments to a larger extent and do not possess an explicit marker of non-countability. How to position Italian in this broad typology inside the family of Romance languages will be discussed in some detail and diachronically explained by its complex evolution of its nominal paradigms.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. The problem: The system of indefinite nominal determiners in Modern Standard Italian and other Romance languages

From the perspective of ‘correlative typology’, Modern Standard Italian is to be considered quite reluctant to any attempt to classify it. Körner’s attempt (1987a) to identify two morphosyntactic types inside the Romance languages, a more

1. This article is partly based on two papers already published/submitted and on my habilitation thesis (cf. Stark 2005, 2006 and forthcoming b). I would like to thank the reviewers and especially Werner Abraham and Elisabeth Leiss for many helpful comments and an intense and very fruitful discussion. All remaining shortcomings are, of course, mine.